2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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This stimulation started the child's breathing and the washing cleansed it. The face of the infant was then massaged to "smooth out ugly lines" and improve the features. The legs were rubbed to straighten them so that the child would not be bow-legged. The arms were similarly rubbed. Then the infant was wrapped in buckskin or coyote fur and the head was bound with buckskin to insure roundness and eliminate the distortion accompanying birth. Flattening was never practiced. This completed the immediate attention given the child. It was then laid on its back on a pile of bedding; occasionally it was turned from one side to the other.

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The mother was given a decoction of herbs immediately after delivery to prevent excess bleeding. As soon as the after-birth (untuxsi'ltən) was eliminated it was completely disposed of by burying. It was never burned. The mother went to bed where she remained for several hours. During this time absorbents (grass, shredded bark) were used to care for the bleeding. These were later burned. After a maximum of one day's complete rest the mother took charge of the child, but continued to lie down when not engaged in that care.

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A woman occasionally went off alone into the woods and bore her child without assistance. Although such action probably often was traceable to timidity alone, ulterior motives were sometimes involved. If the woman did not want the child she was about to bear, this seclusion gave her an opportunity to return to camp with the baby dead and declare that it had been born dead. If this were not true and the facts were discovered the woman was subjected to severe lashing upon order of the chief. Nevertheless, Burke declared, such methods of controlling family size were occasionally resorted to.

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A shaman was called at the time of childbirth only when delivery could not be accomplished normally. In such a case any shaman could function, for the procedure was not specialized, but certain shamans had specific talents of this nature.[2] No objective measures were taken; the shaman did not touch the patient. He attempted to discover the cause of the difficulty as in any case of illness and treat it accordingly.[3]

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In the event of a miscarriage the fetus was buried immediately.

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Certain post-natal observances were incumbent upon the father if the welfare of the child were to be protected. These had to be discharged very shortly after the infant's arrival. The usual procedure involved catching a dog or horse and beating it severely, or riding the horse until it was exhausted and frothed at the mouth. If neither animal were available the father himself ran until he could go no farther. If thus custom were not observed the child would cry a great deal, be irritable and have convulsions. Except at this time, however, the parent dared not kill any animal by beating it until the child was several weeks old, or the child would be ill-affected rather than benefited. If either parent threw deer sinew or feathers into a fire the baby would have cramps and convulsions, "writhing like the burning feathers or sinew."

[2] See page 102.
[3] See page 204 f.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in misfortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins.

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

[1] See pages 215 f.

843 birth of every child born to a couple.

Pregnancy was recognized by the failure to menstruate. The time for the birth was computed roughly by means of a string knotted monthly (Michel said daily), nine moons being known to be its duration. It was held that the period was longer for a first child.

844 When the time for the birth approached, the woman would go to the home of her mother if that were possible. Otherwise she would call her mother, mother-in-law, aunt, or any other matron to assist her. Such was not of necessity a woman with power, nor one who had children. No man could be present, and though the birth might perforce take place out of doors, it must never happen in the dwelling house. Many cases are remembered of women who went out for the day and had their babies en route, without any particular assistance. Some preferred to have their babies alone. This was considered as particularly appropriate for such women as had for a power animal some such thing as a mother eagle with her brood, or a bitch with young. If this happened the babe was wrapped in soft fur and brought back to camp. The mother had to spend the next ten nights in the lodge, and might not come home to the house. It was said that sometimes, instead of a completely separate lodge, one of the village menstrual lodges might be used.

If the birth took place in the proper fashion, in the lodge with one or more older women assisting, the mother sat or squatted on her heels; never lying down. The floor might be spread with fir boughs, but never with blankets or robes. The woman faced the door with her back to the fire in the center of the lodge. One of the assistants stood behind and held her shoulders, and if there were another she would squat in front and hold her arms. If there were only one assistant, a digging-stick was thrust into the ground for the mother to hold to for support.

845 If the delivery proved to be difficult, the assistant pressed on the mother's abdomen. Should she cry out unduly, her mouth and nose would be plugged. The attendants would scold her, saying, "You've got to help yourself, or you will die." Should these [791] efforts fail, a shaman might be called in, who would put water on the woman's head and blow on her. This would cause the baby to come quickly. If the shaman were male he would have to leave before the baby came, for no man might be present at the time of birth, particularly no man with power, as it would hurt his power. Should the husband have any power which might be useful under the circumstances, he too might help, but would have to leave before the crucial time. If there was difficulty in presentation, there might be efforts made by the midwives to turn the baby around, but these were seldom success-

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson."[20] 853 [845]

For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him. 846

There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed. 842 787

Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con- 845

20 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

845 mention of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcó´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind,"nqEcó´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed,without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back,or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

21 For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

Though two brothers might both have the grizzly, or any other animal, as guardian spirit, twins did not have grizzly power more often than other people. 776 825 845

The power inherited from a dead relative belongs in a separate category. It was one of the powers which the dead had possessed during life, but after his death it chose a new master. It was never deliberately sought, as other powers were, but came in a dream. It brought considerable danger to the person on whom it called, being "meaner" and more exacting than a normal guardian spirit; and it might, if not duly propitiated, cause the death of its possessor. 778 428 787

Insanity was regarded as a kind of power, though not from any animal. A man recently went mad "because he wanted power too much." 778 828

The strength of one's power depended on the number of guardian spirits which he had and on their qualities. In the opinion of any one informant, the same animal did not confer varying degrees of power. Cecile seemed to think that power was directly proportional to the actual strength of the animal that bestowed it, and that that of cougar, grizzly, and eagle was therefore the strongest. But other informants denied this, saying that the power of any burrowing animal was stronger than that of deer, that small birds gave great power, and that chickadee and yellowjacket, for example, belonged in the first rank. 776 778 825

A person usually had power for one activity more than for any other, but extraordinary power along certain lines implied a general faculty in other things also.

The possession of power did not necessarily bring success. Suszen said that one could succeed in hunting without the aid of power, if he were a good runner, knew the haunts of the game, and had the other practical qualifications. On the other hand, according to the same informant, even a clever and intelligent person would be slow and lazy if he had no power. A man with special power for hunting had to be industrious and clever to secure the game. If any of his power tabus were broken — if, for example, a menstruant woman ate of his deer or bear meat, or of his mixture of berries and salmon entrails — he would fail in his subsequent attempts at hunting or fishing. 778 224 [784]

As I shall explain later, when discussing the acquisition of power, the novice seems often to have been severely endangered by his first intercourse with the guardian spirit. As the relationship matured, he brought his power more and more under friendly control. It did not desert him till he grew senile, or afflict his health as long as he complied with its ritualistic demands. 776

In certain respects, power was a private concern of the individual. One usually refrained from declaring the identity of his

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke 845 down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[287] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had [777] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[288] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[289] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

[287] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.
[288] *a*, p. 306, fig. 280.
[289] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

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one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1]

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TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2]

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CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped

[1] a, p. 304.
[2] a, pp. 310, 311.
[3] See Thompson, c, fig. 251; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.
[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.
[5] See Thompson, c, fig. 251 b.
[6] See Thompson, c, fig. 251.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

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BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wicker-work were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

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HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1886, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier.

[113]